

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 PRETOR 04406 01 OF 03 282322Z

ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 IO-14 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
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FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8600

USIA WASHDC NACT IMMEDIATE

USUN NEW YORK NIACT IMMEDIATE 1860

AMEMBASSY LONDON NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

AME BASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LAGO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 PRETORIA 4406

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PVIP ( YOUNG, ANDREW) SF, RH, UK, US

SUBJ: OWEN/YOUNG PRESS CONFERENCE ON ARRIVAL AT JANS MUSTS AIRPORT.

FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN:

I DON'T THINK WE'RE GOING TO SAY VERY MUCH AND I HOPE YOU'LL  
UNDERSTAND THE REASONS WHY. WE ARE STILL INVOLVED IN SERIOUS  
AND DETAILED NEGOTIATIONS. WE HAVE COME HERE AS AN ESSENTIAL  
PART OF THE DISCUSSIONS THAT ARE GOING TO HAVE TO TAKE PLACE.  
WE, OF COURSE, HAVE ALREADY DISCUSSED WITH THE SOUTH  
AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IN DETAIL, WITH A MEETING WITH MR.  
BOTHA, MR. VANCE AND MYSELF IN LONDON, AND WE'RE  
CONTINUING THESE DISCUSSIONS. OUR OBJECTIVE IS TO  
TRY AND SEE IF IT IS POSSIBLE TO GET A NEGOTIATED  
SETTLEMENT FOR RHODESIA AND TO ARRANGE FOR A FREE AND  
INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE BASED ON MAJORITY RULE AS SOON AS  
UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 PRETOR 04406 01 OF 03 282322Z

POSSIBLE. AND, INCREASINGLY, THE PROBLEM IS HOW WE  
CAN ARRANGE FOR SOME STRUCTURE WHICH WILL GIVE US A  
CEASE-FIRE AND AN END TO THE VIOLENCE AND TO THE LOSS  
OF LIFE WHICH IS OCCURRING ALL THE TIME AS A RESULT  
OF THE PROBLEM IN RHODESIA. AND THAT'S OUR TASK, AND  
ANYONE WHO HAS EVER TRIED TO ACHIEVE THIS IN THE PAST  
KNOWS HOW DIFFICULT IT IS. AND I DON'T THINK IT'S

APPROPRIATE-- AND I'M CERTAINLY NOT GOING TO GIVE ESTIMATES OF WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN, AND HOW IT'S GOING TO BE ACHIEVED. ALL WE CAN SAY AT THIS STAGE IS THAT THERE IS A NEED FOR FRANK AND SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS WHICH WILL TAKE PLACE HERE TOMORROW. ANDY WOULD YOU LIKE TO SAY SOMETHING? AMB. YOUNG: NO.

QUESTION:

FOREIGN MINISTER OWN, SOUTH AFRICA HAS OFTEN BEEN DESCRIBED AS HOLDING THE KEY, OR A KEY, TO SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA. WOULD YOU (A) COMMENT ON THAT VIEW AND (B) COULD YOU TELL US WHAT YOUR HOPES OR EXPECTATIONS ARE AS FAR AS SOUTH AFRICA'S ROLE IS CONCERNED?

ANSWER:

WELL, I THINK THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAS ITS OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS AND IT HAS ITS REGIONAL INTERESTS-- WHAT IS IN THE INTERESTS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA-- AND IT ALSO HAS TO LIVE IN THE WORLD AND THEREFORE TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE VIEWS OF THE WORLD. I BELIEVE IT VERY STRONGLY. IN THE NATIONAL INTERESTS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE INTERESTS OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN REGION AS A WHOLE, THAT A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IS ACHIEVED WHICH IS INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE. NOW THAT'S A VERY DIFFICULT ONE, AND I BELIEVE THAT'S WHAT WE ARE AIMING FOR IS AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION, BECAUSE ANYTHING ELSE WON'T END THE VIOLENCE. UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03     PRETOR 04406 01 OF 03 282322Z

ANYTHING ELSE WILL PROBABLY ALLOW THE VIOLENCE TO CONTINUE FOR MANY YEARS-- AND THAT IS THE OBJECTIVE. I THINK THAT NOBODY ASKS COUNTRIES TO ACT AGAINST THEIR OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS. WE ALL LIVE IN THE WORLD, HOWEVER, AND THEY HAVE TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF WORLD AND REGIONAL INTERESTS. ONE THING I STRONGLY BELIEVE IS THAT IT'S ESSENTIAL WE'RE HERE. JUST AS MUCH AS I BELIEVE IT WAS ESSENTIAL THAT WE TALK TO THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS. WE CAN'T ALSO IGNORE THE TWO FRONTS: THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, THE NATIONALIST PARTIES INSIDE RHODESIA AND THE RHODESIAN FRONT, AND WE'VE BEEN TRYING AT ALL TIMES OVER THE LAST FEW MONTHS, AFTER EXTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN GOING ON FOR MONTHS NOW AT OFFICIAL LEVEL AND AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL, TO TRY AND SEE, NOT A SOLUTION WHICH EVERYONE WILL AGREE WITH-- WE ALL KNOW THERE ARE A LOT OF THINGS THAT WE SAY THAT PEOPLE WILL DISAGREE WITH-- BUT WHETHER THE PEOPLE WILL JUDGE IT TO BE FAIR AND REASONABLE, AND THAT THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE SHOULD CHOOSE THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT-- THAT'S WHAT WE WANT.

QUESTION: DR. OWEN, WE ALL KNOW THAT THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION IS A PROCESS OF GIVE AND TAKE. WHAT IS THE BRITISH AND THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT PREPARED TO DO, TO GIVE SOUTH AFRICA FOR

ITS PARTICIPATION AND COOPERATION IN THIS PEACE PLAN?

ANSWER: I DON'T THINK THIS IS REALLY EXPRESSED IN THAT SENSE.  
IT'S WELL KNOWN THAT THERE ARE OTHER AREAS WHERE WE ARE  
DISCUSSING AND WHERE THERE ARE DISAGREEMENTS AND YOU CAN'T SAY  
THAT THERE ARE NOT, -- THAT YOU CAN PUT EVERYTHING  
IN TOTALLY ISOLATED COMPARTMENTS-- I KON'T SAY THAT. ALL OF US  
HAVE TO SHOW UNDERSTANDING BUT ALSO BE TRUE. DEALS DON'T APPEAL  
TO ANYONE. I DON'T BELIEVE THEY APPEAL TO THIS GOVERNMENT,  
I DON'T THINK THEY APPEAL TO OUR GOVERNMENTS IN THE SENSE  
OF CRUDE TRADE-OFFS. I THINK WE SHOULD TALK FRANKLY TO EACH  
OTHER ON ALL THE AREAS WHERE THERE ARE PROBLEMS. BUT HERE WE  
ARE NOW DISCUSSING THE PROBLEM OF RHODESIA. AND THAT'S WHAT  
WE'RE GOING TO CONCENTRATE ON IN THESE DISCUSSIONS.  
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PAGE 04     PRETOR 04406 01 OF 03 282322Z

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PAGE 01     PRETOR 04406 02 OF 03 282333Z  
ACTION AF-10

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FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8601

USIA WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE

USUN NEW YORK NIACT IMMEDIATE 1861

AMEMBASSY LONDON NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

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UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 3 PRETORIA 4406

I DON'T SAY THEY MAY NOT GO OFF INTO OTHER AREAS AS WELL--

OF COURSE WE RECOGNIZE THAT, AND THEY HAVE DONE IN THE PAST AND THEY WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO. THERE IS A CONTINUOUS DIALOGUE BETWEEN US ON AREAS WHICH WE DISAGREE. THAT IS THE WAY THESE THINGS WILL BE RESOLVED. BUT THEY WILL BE RESOLVED, I SUSPECT, BY US BEING FRANK WITH EACH OTHER AND BLUNT WITH EACH OTHER.

QUESTION:

COULD I ASK MR. YOUNG WHETHER HE'LL BE RAISING HIS GOVERNMENT'S INTEREST IN CIVIL RIGHTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOUTH AFRICA AT ONE STAGE?

AMBASSADOR YOUNG:

I'M HERE IN SUPPORT OF THE BRITISH INITIATIVE ON RHODESIA, AND I THINK THAT IF WE CAN MAKE ANY HEADWAY ON THAT, THAT'S REALLY ALL I'LL HAVE TIME FOR ON THIS VISIT.

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PAGE 02     PRETOR 04406 02 OF 03 282333Z

QUESTION:

MR. SECRETARY, WILL YOU BE DISCUSSING THE NAMIBIAN SCENE WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT?

ANSWER:

WELL WE'RE NOT HERE PRIMARILY TO DISCUSS IT, BUT IT'S A MATTER OF CONCERN TO ALL OF US, AND WE, THE TWO POWERS, AS PART OF THE FIVE WESTERN SECURITY COUNCIL POWERS, I'D BE SURPRISED IF IT'S NOT MENTIONED AT SOME TIME, BUT THE FORMAL DISCUSSION, THE MAIN EMPHASIS AND THRUST, AS AMBASSADOR YOUNG SAYS, IS FOCUSING ON THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM.

QUESTION:

RUNNING PARALLEL TO THIS INITIATIVE OF YOURS IS THE RHODESIAN ELECTION WHICH IS ABOUT AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. IT SEEMS THESE TWO THINGS ARE RUNNING IN TANDEM. ARE YOU TAKING ANYTHING NEW TO MR. SMITH ON THURSDAY WHICH MIGHT TEMPT HIM TO CHANGE HIS MIND AWAY FROM AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT?

ANSWER:

IT'S A PROBLEM TO DISCUSS AN ELECTION ACTUALLY DURING THE TIME, AND IT'S PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT IF IT'S TWO OR THREE DAYS AWAY, AND I SUSPECT THAT ANYTHING WE SAY ABOUT THAT ELECTION WILL BE UNWISE.

QUESTION: WELL, MY POINT WAS, ARE YOU TAKING ANYTHING NEW IN THIS PACKAGE THAT DIFFERED FROM THE LAST ONE TO MAKE HIM CHANGE HIS COMMITMENT TO AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT?

ANSWER:

WELL YOU'VE MADE AN INTERPRETATION OF WHAT MR. SMITH IS FIGHTING ON IN THIS ELECTION. OTHER PEOPLE HAVE INTERPRETED IT IN OTHER DIFFERENT WAYS. I'VE NOT INTERPRETED ANYTHING THAT HE'S SAID AS REJECTING THE LOOKING AT OUR PROPOSALS. THAT'S UP TO HIM HOW HE DECIDES TO DO THAT.

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PAGE 03     PRETOR 04406 02 OF 03 282333Z

QUESTION:

YOU DON'T THINK THE ELECTION IS ABOUT AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT?

ANSWER:

IT'S NOT FOR ME TO SAY WHAT THE ELECTION IS OR IS NOT ABOUT, TO BE HONEST, I THINK I'M NOT GOING TO INVOLVE MYSELF IN THE ELECTION. THAT'S MR. SMITH'S AFFAIR.

QUESTION: DR. OWEN, IN VIEW OF THE PAST PERFORMANCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING FORCES, WOULD YOU REALLY BLAME THE RHODESIANS IF THEY REJECTED SUCH A PROPOSAL?

ANSWER:

WELL, IF YOU TAKE IT OUTSIDE THE RHODESIAN CONTEXT, BECAUSE I DON'T WANT TO GET INVOLVED IN THAT. BUT IF YOU'RE MAKING AN OVERALL CRITICISM OF UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING, I WONDER WHETHER THAT IS REALLY JUSTIFIED? ( INTERJECTION) SUCH AS IN THE CONGO\*

THE CONGO WAS DIFFICULT AT THE TIME AND MANY OF US, AND I MUST SAY I THOUGHT ACTUALLY AT THE TIME THAT IT PROBABLY HADN'T ACHIEVED A GREAT DEAL. IF YOU LOOK BACK HISTORICALLY NOW TO THAT ASPECT OF HISTORY, I'M NOT SURE THAT SOME OF THE SAVAGE CRITICISMS THAT WERE MADE AT THE TIME STAND OUT NOW. IF YOU LOOK AT CYPRUS I THINK YOU CAN POINT TO FORMIDABLE ACHIEVEMENTS. AND EVEN IN THE MIDDLE EAST, GIVEN ALL THE DIFFICULTIES. SO IT'S A VERY COMPLEX QUESTION-- U.N. PEACE-KEEPING-- BUT IT'S NOT ENTIRELY NEGATIVE. I CERTAINLY WOULD STRONGLY HOLD AGAINST THAT. AND I WOULD THRUST BACK AT YOU: THE WORLD DOESN'T DEVELOP THE CAPABILITY OF DEALING WITH THIS. WHAT ELSE IS THE ALTERNATIVE IN ALL THESE DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE WORLD WHERE U.N. PEACE-KEEPING EFFORTS HAVE TAKEN PLACE. I'M CLOSE OF CYPRUS BECAUSE THE BRITISH HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN THIS AREA FOR A LONG TIME. WITHOUT THE U.N. THERE I THINK WE WOULD HAVE SEEN A VERY, VERY MUCH MUCH BITTERER CONFLICT TO CONTINUED FIGHTING ON THAT ISLAND. I THINK THE WORLD HAS TO LEARN HOW TO RESOLVE CONFLICTS AND HOW TO AVOID THEM

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PAGE 04     PRETOR 04406 02 OF 03 282333Z

ESCALATING AND HOW TO AVOID THEM BEING INTERNATIONALIZED. THAT'S SOME OF THE PROBLEMS THAT FACE THE WORLD. IT'S VERY EASY TO CRITICIZE; WE'VE HAD LOTS OF THAT AND THERE WILL BE LOTS MORE, NO DOUBT. BUT ALL I CAN SAY IS PEOPLE HAVE GOT TO FACE THAT FACT THAT THERE IS VERY CONSIDERABLE FIGHTING GOING ON THERE NOW AT AN EVER-INCREASING VIOLENCE. WHEN I WAS HERE IN APRIL TO

TALK TO MANY OF YOU, THE LEVEL OF THE VIOLENCE WAS FAR  
LESS AND THE STRENGTH OF THE FORCES WAS FAR LESS. THE  
SITUATION IS CHANGING WEEK BY WEEK.

QUESTION:

MR. FOREIGN SECRETARY, WHAT DO YOU EXPECT FROM MR. VORSTER?  
DO YOU EXPECT HIS APPROVAL, DO YOU EXPECT HIS UNDERSTANDING,  
OR WOULD YOU BE SATISFIED SIMPLY WITH HIS NOT OPPOSING THIS  
RHODESIAN PLAN ACTIVELY?

ANSWER:

THAT'S SOMETHING I WANT TO TALK TO MR. VORSTER ABOUT. I ASKED HIM  
FOR HIS UNDERSTANDING AND HIS HELP WHEN I WAS HERE IN APRIL AND  
I HAVE NO COMPLAINTS AT ALL ABOUT THE WAY HE HAS CONDUCTED HIS  
PART IN THE INITIATIVE THAT WE TOOK WHICH STARTED HERE IN  
APRIL WHEN I WAS HERE, NO COMPLAINT AT ALL.

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PAGE 01     PRETOR 04406 03 OF 03 282337Z  
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FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8602

USIA WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE

USUN NEW YORK NIACT IMMEDIATE 1862

AMEMBASSY LONDON NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS FINAL SECTION 3 OF 3 PRETORIA 4406

QUESTION: DR. OWEN, YOU SAY YOU HAVE NOT INTERPRETED  
ANYTHING THAT MR. SMITH HAS SAID AS BEING REJECTION OF THE  
BRITISH PROPOSALS BUT MR. SMITH HIMSELF HAS SAID HE WON'T  
ACCEPT ANY SETTLEMENT WHICH PROVIDED FOR HIS OWN REPLACEMENT  
BY A BRITISH-APPOINTED RESIDENT COMMISSIONER OR THE DISBANDING

OF THE RHODESIAN ARMY? IT DOESN'T SOUND VERY LIKE WHOLE-HEARTED SUPPORT, DOES IT?

ANSWER:

I THINK THAT'S YOUR DESCRIPTION-- I WOULDN'T DISAGREE WITH IT. I'M NOT GOING TO GET DRAWN INTO THIS. ONE ADVANTAGE IS THAT ANDY AND I HAVE FOUGHT ELECTIONS QUITE A LOT AND WE ALL KNOW WHAT HAPPENS IN ELECTIONS.

QUESTION: YOU THINK THAT'S JUST SAID FOR LOCAL CONSUMPTION?

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02     PRETOR 04406 03 OF 03 282337Z

ANSWER:

THAT'S YOUR INTERPRETATION OF IT. I'M NOT SAYING ANYTHING ABOUT THE ELECTIONS.

QUESTION: DR. OWEN, YOU SPOKE ABOUT A SETTLEMENT BASED ON MAJORITY RULE. MR. SMITH HAS CONSISTENTLY SAID THAT THE ONLY ACCEPTABLE FORMULA WOULD BE BY INTERPRETING MAJORITY RULE AS BEING WITHIN A QUALIFIED FRANCHISE. IS THAT COMPATIBLE WITH WHAT YOU JUST SAID?

ANSWER:

I'M NOT HONESTLY GOING TO GET INTO WHAT MR. SMITH HAS OR HAS NOT SAID. WE WERE, UP UNTIL JUST BEFORE HE DECIDED TO CALL AN ELECTION, IN VERY CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH HIM ON THESE PROPOSALS, SO THAT HE KNOWN A GREAT DEAL OF WHAT'S BEEN DISCUSSED ABOUT THE CONSTITUTION AND ABOUT THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD AND ABOUT THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND, AND I'M REALLY NOT GOING TO GET INTO WHAT HE HAS SAID PUBLICLY FROM THE MOMENT THAT HE DECIDED TO GO PUBLIC WITH THIS PROPOSALS. I WOULD, OF COURSE, PREFER THAT THEY'D ALL REMAINED PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL TALKS. I'M NOT GOING TO BE DRAWN.

QUESTION:

DR. OWEN, ACCORDING TO REPORTS THE FRONTLINE STATES ACCEPTED THE PLAN PROVIDED, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THAT THE RHODESIAN ARMY DISBAND. WAS THEIR ACCEPTANCE THAT THE FORCES OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT DISBAND AS WELL?

ANSWER:

I'M NOT GOING TO GO INTO DETAIL, AND I'M NOT GOING TO DISCUSS THAT DISCUSSIONS THAT WE'VE BEEN HAVING. I JUST COUNSEL YOU NOT TO BELIEVE TOO MUCH OF THE PRESS REPORTING. IF YOU DID YOU'D HAVE A VERY CONFUSED STORY.

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PAGE 03     PRETOR 04406 03 OF 03 282337Z

QUESTION:

WILL YOU GIVE A LISTING OF YOUR VERSION OF THE PROPOSALS  
AFTER THE MEETING ON THURSDAY?

ANSWER: I THINK THAT WE'VE HAD ENOUGH QUESTIONS. BOWDLER

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## Message Attributes

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